





THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,  
AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. XII.]

NOVEMBER, 1836.

[No. 11.]

WASHINGTON, OCT. 20, 1836.

*To the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.*

GENTLEMEN :

THE letters which I have had the honour to address to you, during my recent tour through a portion of the Southwestern and Western States, will be found to comprise nearly every fact and suggestion which occurred to me in my progress as deserving the consideration of the friends of the American Colonization Society. It may, however, be proper and useful to submit, in a condensed form, the substance of my several communications, with such reflections as thence may naturally arise, in regard to the scheme of African Colonization, and the means by which its execution may be rendered most speedy, comprehensive, and complete.

As subordinate to the chief end of my mission, (the advancement of the general cause of the Society) my attention was directed particularly;

1st. To the disposal of the remaining interest of the Society in the estate of the late Mr. Ireland of New Orleans.

2d. To an examination into the condition of several legacies recently left to the Society in the States of Mississippi and Louisiana.

3d. To such interviews and intercommunications with the officers of Auxiliary Societies, especially of the State Societies, as might contribute to a more perfect understanding and to increased unity and energy of action between these Branches and the Parent Institution.

4th. To secure from Auxiliary Societies, and from the liberality of individuals, pecuniary aid, and by private and (as far as circumstances might permit) public explanations and statements in regard to the principles, success, and prospects of the Society, to confirm the faith and increase the numbers of its friends.

As it was late in April before I embarked on the Ohio, it was thought best, (in order to complete the objects of my visit to the States of Mississippi and Louisiana before the season in which many of their intelligent and wealthy citizens are accustomed to leave their homes for the North) to proceed as early as possible to New Orleans.

While the steamboat was stopping for an hour or two at Cincinnati, several able friends of the Society there, assured me of their disposition to extend to the cause, whenever I might return to that city, every assistance in their power.

During a stay of three days at Louisville, the clergy of nearly all denominations, and other gentlemen, expressed their attachment to the Society, and a readiness to adopt efficient measures for its support. Notwithstanding my anxiety to hasten to the South, a personal interview with the officers of the Kentucky State Colonization Society was deemed so important, that I went to Frankfort, and through the prompt exertions of their Secretary, enjoyed on the very day of my arrival a full and free conference with those gentlemen. They expressed, very cordially, their continued interest in the design and proceedings of the Parent Society, and their disposition to co-operate in all measures tending to augment its influence and resources, or to strengthen its Colony in Africa.

With the view of promoting the object of the Society in the removal to Liberia of certain free persons of colour and emancipated slaves from their own state, and under an impression that the Colonization Societies of Philadelphia and New York were acting in harmony with the Parent Institution as auxiliary thereto, they had on the day before my arrival concluded an agreement with the Agent of the N. Y. Society (Mr. M'Elroy) by which the funds in their treasury (rising of two thousand dollars) \* were appropriated to aid in defraying the expenses of an expedition about to be despatched to Africa by those Societies, with emigrants mostly from Tennessee and Kentucky.

As the purpose of fitting out this expedition had not been communicated to the Managers of the Parent Society; as they were looking confidently for relief from pecuniary wants to the Auxiliary Societies of the West and Southwest; and especially as an important object of my mission to that part of the country was to submit to these Associations a view of the affairs of the Parent Society, in the hope that they might be encouraged thereby to increase their exertions and contributions for its benefit, it may be imagined that I felt some surprise and regret at finding the funds of the Kentucky Society diverted from their ordinary channel. The endeavour of the New York and Philadelphia Societies (limited, as I had understood, by express stipulation, in their collection of monies, to the States of Pennsylvania and New York) to obtain funds from the Western country, and the intelligence just then received of the adoption of preliminary measures by the Mississippi and Louisiana Societies for the establishment of new colonies in Africa, under their more especial control and entirely dependent upon their means, led me to apprehend a failure in any attempt to augment materially the resources of the Parent Society, and that it might be left to weakness, perhaps to ruin, amid the separate if not conflicting views and movements of its professed friends. Still, the candid and generous manner in which my statements were received by the Kentucky Society, the earnest and decided attachment which the Managers were pleased to express to the National Insti-

\* One thousand dollars was afterwards retained and has been paid over to the Parent Society.

tution, connected as it was with a manifested disposition and purpose to sustain zealously and vigorously its operations, afforded convincing evidence, that in Kentucky public opinion continued unchanged in regard to the organization best adapted to promote the cause. The appropriation in aid of the New York and Philadelphia expedition had been made without a knowledge of the unusual necessities of the Parent Society, and with a view of defraying the expenses of a company of emigrants from Kentucky. The Managers of the Kentucky Society suggested that efforts should be made, in concert, by the several State Societies to relieve the Parent Society from every embarrassment. Having received from these gentlemen the most friendly assurances of countenance and assistance in case I should re-visit their State, I left Louisville for Natchez about the last of April.

On the day of my arrival in Natchez, (the 7th of May) I had the pleasure of meeting several members of the Executive Committee (all that were in town) of the Mississippi Colonization Society, and to find cherished by them that generous interest in the cause of Colonization, which the well-known liberality of the citizens of Natchez and the efficient proceedings of the Board they represented had led me to anticipate. Though, on account of the absence of many wealthy inhabitants and the great pressure among men of business for money, and other reasons, the season was deemed unpropitious to an effort for raising funds; yet, on learning the condition of the Parent Society, the Committee resolved to do something without delay for its relief. They concurred fully in the views expressed by the Kentucky Society, that a united and systematic effort should be made by the several State Societies to extricate the National Society from embarrassment, and secure to it ample means for regular and energetic operations; nor was I permitted to doubt that the Mississippi Society would cheerfully assume its full share of the amount required for this purpose.

The attention of that Society had very recently been called to the subject of founding a new colony on the African coast. In the month of March last, just before the departure of an expedition from New Orleans, an interesting Report (now in possession of the Board) was made by Dr. Ker (of the Executive Committee) which assumed, as a principle settled by a resolution adopted unanimously at the annual meeting next preceding, that it was expedient for that Society to take charge of the emigration and settlement in Africa of all emigrants from that State; and though not specified in said resolution, there was implied the necessity of founding a new settlement or colony in Africa, at the expense and under the special care of that Society, subject however, for the present, to the regulations, general superintendence, and control of the Parent Society, but to possess ultimately, should the resources of the Society of Mississippi be greatly augmented either by the donations of the citizens of that State or the bounty of its Legislature, a more independent character. To this Report a series of resolutions was appended containing an application to the Governor of Liberia for his assistance in securing by purchase a suitable territory for the contemplated settlement, and in making arrangements for the reception and comfort of future emigrants from Mississippi. The

respected author of this Report informed me that it occurred to him at the time it was submitted to the Society, that this document and the resolutions therewith connected might require more consideration than the Committee could then give it; that it would have been most agreeable to them to have conferred fully with the Parent Society on every measure proposed; that their views in regard to their future relations to the General Society were somewhat indefinite, and clearly admitted of modification; and finally, that the near departure of the expedition had, if any thing was to be done in the matter the present season, urged them, to the measures adopted, of necessity. The Committee having promptly proposed to open a subscription for the Parent Society, the amount of which could be ascertained by the time of my return to Natchez, on the 11th of May, I took passage for New Orleans.

In this great, enterprising, and prosperous city, I experienced the most kind and hospitable attentions, and found that many of its wealthy and distinguished citizens were the friends and benefactors of the Society. The Rev. Robert S. Finley, so well known to the Board and the country, for his zealous and able advocacy of the cause both at the North and the South, happening to be in the city, cheerfully devoted several days to promote the objects of my mission. At a public meeting, over which Judge Bullard presided, and which was attended by the Governor of the State and numerous influential citizens, held in the Supreme Court Room, on the Wednesday evening after my arrival, resolutions expressive of confidence in the philanthropy and utility of the Society were unanimously passed, and a committee appointed to obtain subscriptions and donations to its funds.

A resolution had been adopted a few weeks before, by the Executive Committee of the Louisiana Colonization Society, that it was expedient to take immediate measures for the establishment, under the general superintendence of the American Colonization Society, of a new colony in Africa, to be called Louisiana in Liberia, for the reception of emigrants from that State, and a subscription of from three to four thousand dollars had been secured for the object. It was obvious that the Committee of the Louisiana Society, not less than that of the Society in Mississippi, regarded their efforts as strictly auxiliary to those of the Parent Institution, and that their thoughts had been turned to the project of founding a new colony, rather from the desire of exciting a more general and efficient interest in the cause throughout their State, than from any wish to divide the movements or disturb the action of the National Society; yet the fact of so recent and liberal a subscription to the State Society was thought a valid reason, in several cases, for declining then to make donations to the Parent Society.

In the estate of the late Mr. Ireland of New Orleans the American Colonization Society possessed an interest, in connection with two Asylums for orphan children in that city. A portion of this estate had already, with the consent of the several parties concerned, been sold, and the proceeds divided among the legatees. There was among the unsold portions of the estate a valuable square of ground in fauxbourg Lafayette. In the opinion of Messrs. Nicholson and Duncan,

representatives of the two Asylums, that this square should be sold at public auction, on a credit of one, two, and three years, Mr. Maybin the attorney of the Col. Society) and myself concurred, and the more cheerfully as these gentlemen expressed a concern in the prosperity of the Society, and a disposition, when informed of its pecuniary wants, to allow the payments which might become due the first year to be appropriated to its benefit. Being of opinion, after much inquiry and personal examination, that this property had a value above what I had at first supposed, and that to secure the entire interest of the Society therein, it might be necessary for it to become the purchaser, just before I left New Orleans, I requested a friend of the Society to attend the sale and bid in its behalf, should he judge best so to do. The square was sold for \$18,500 to the Trustees of the Boys' Assylum in New Orleans. Its value had been estimated before the sale at from 12 to \$16,000; but considering the rapidity with which the price of lots in its vicinity increases, it was bought, probably, for no more than its real worth.

During a visit of a few days to Mobile, I conversed with many citizens of that place and other parts of Alabama, who entertained opinions favorable to the Society; but for reasons satisfactory to those best acquainted with popular sentiment in that region, no attempt was made to submit its design and claims to the judgment of the community. At another time, I doubt not, much may be done in Mobile for the interests of the Society.

On the 16th of June, I left New Orleans, and after spending a few days at Baton Rouge and Jackson in Louisiana, proceeded up the river to Natchez, and in compliance with an invitation previously presented to me, sought an early opportunity of visiting James Railey, Esq. (principal Executor of the estate of the late James Green, Esq.) who resides at the distance of twelve miles from that place. It will be recollected, that by the will of Mr. Green a number of his slaves were liberated, and a portion of his estate left in trust to Mr. Railey, Mrs. Railey, and Mrs. Wood, (the last two, sisters of Mr. Green,) with requests both verbal and written, that it should be applied (unless their judgment should dictate otherwise) to the emancipation and colonization of slaves from Mississippi in Liberia. The slaves emancipated by Mr. Green have already been sent by his Executors to that Colony, at an expense, including the ample supplies furnished them, of about \$7,000. I was informed by Mr. Railey, that although in the opinion of some, the Executors would be clearly discharged from the trust reposed in them, by the further appropriation of \$20,600, in fulfilment of the benevolent designs of Mr. Green, they had resolved to make the amount \$25,600. It is expected that this sum will in the course of a few months be ready to be applied to the objects to which it is devoted. As the whole matter in regard to this legacy is left to the discretion of the Executors, the cheerfulness and promptitude with which they have resolved to carry into full effect the charitable purposes of the Testator cannot be too highly appreciated. They entertain a cordial regard to the Colonization Society, nor would I omit to express my sense of the obliging and frank manner in which Mr. Railey opened to me the entire condition

of this bequest, and declared the concern felt by himself and those associated with him to do full justice to the humane and philanthropic intentions of their deceased relative.

At Prospect Hill, nine miles from Port Gibson, Mississippi, the seat of the late Capt. Ross, I had the pleasure of conferring with his very intelligent and highminded daughter, Mrs. Reed, on the subject of the great and humane purposes contemplated in the testament of her venerated father. The provisions of the will of Capt. Ross are before the public. Every thing possible may be expected from the benevolent views of Mrs. Reed towards carrying into speedy effect this will, prepared as she is to make any sacrifice of her personal feelings to the cause of humanity and duty. It is believed that the relatives of the deceased generally, concur in the sentiments of Mrs. Reed, and that the Executors of the estate (with three of whom I had opportunity to confer) will discharge their high responsibilities with fidelity and success. This will involves great interests. Capt. Ross was a remarkable man, distinguished for energy, integrity, and benevolence. His slaves are mostly disconnected from those on other plantations, and therefore constitute one great family of about one hundred and seventy in number, who have enjoyed almost parental care and kindness. To render them happy, appears to have been the great object of their master. For several years before his death Capt. Ross, though a skilful manager of his estate, made no attempt to add to his capital, but developed and applied his resources to increase the comforts of his people. These people are moral, sober and industrious. The income of the estate is estimated at \$20,000 per annum.

It deserves to be mentioned that Mr. Isaac Ross, (now deceased) a worthy son of Capt. Isaac Ross, directed by his will that the slaves on one of his estates should be delivered to the American Colonization Society, to be removed as freemen to Liberia; and that a similar provision was made by the late Drury W. Brazeale of Claiborne county, Mississippi, in regard to all his slaves of a suitable age for colonization, who are to be generously supplied from his estate with such articles as may be required for their comfortable settlement in the Colony.

At the village of Providence, in Carrol county, Louisiana, I made every necessary inquiry and examination into the state and prospects of the legacy left to the Society by the late Hasten M. Childers.—The estate of Mr. Childers has been estimated at eighty thousand dollars. One half of this is secured by law to his surviving widow; of the remainder, after the payment of sundry bequests, it is thought there will be left to the Society about thirty thousand dollars. It is said there is a legal defect in the execution of the will; yet the estimable and generous character of Mrs. Childers will, it is presumed, forbid, if possible, that a mere informality should defeat the ends of justice and humanity.

I arrived at Louisville, Kentucky, on the 23th of July. Several of the early and efficient friends of the Society in that city were prepared to renew their exertions (which had for a season been suspended) in behalf of the cause, and proposed that the views, success, and prospects of the Society should be submitted to the consideration of



their fellow-citizens at a public meeting. Other and larger meetings succeeded. The Auxiliary Society of Louisville was reorganized. Gentlemen of talents and influence came forward and publicly advocated the scheme of Colonization, and a liberal subscription was obtained to the funds of the Parent Society. At these meetings resolutions were unanimously adopted declaring the plan of the Society worthy of state and national patronage, and that it was expedient for the friends of this plan in Kentucky to submit the questions therein involved, at an early day, by memorials, to the Legislature of their State and to the Congress of the United States. Similar resolutions were passed, without a dissenting voice, at public meetings held in Frankfort, Lexington, Shelbyville, Harrodsburg, and Versailles.— Societies in several cases were reorganized, and at all these places, as also at Lebanon and Danville, contributions were either made to sustain the Society, or measures adopted to secure contributions.— Men of all political and religious creeds, and of every class and profession, were united in the opinion that the scheme of African Colonization merited support; that it was a scheme of such magnitude and utility and practicableness, as to demand for its execution the combined means and powers of the State and Federal Governments.— Such is the opinion, in Kentucky, of those who fill with honour her highest offices, legislative and judicial in the State, and of those who represent her with such ability and eloquence in the national councils.

I attended two meetings held in New Albany, Indiana, (the only place visited by me in that State) and the reorganization of an Auxiliary Society and a handsome contribution testified to the zealous attachment cherished in that community towards the cause.

Indeed, the writer feels bound to acknowledge with gratitude to the great Author of benevolence and of all success in benevolent enterprises, that during his extensive tour, and his intercourse with thousands of his countrymen in the vast and busy world of the West and Southwest, he has experienced from all kindness and hospitality only; that in the prosecution of endeavours to subserve the cause of African Colonization, he has in nearly every instance received cordial, in some powerful aid, and in no case encountered opposition; that he has found pervading, generally, the minds of virtuous and reflecting men in that portion of the Union, a desire that this cause should be sustained, as of concern to patriotism no less than to humanity, by the State and Federal Governments, connected with a disposition, (until it shall be so sustained) to give to it their influence, their prayers, and their donations.

Though the season of the year was unfavorable to raising funds for any object of public charity, and though the writer's attention was much occupied with other objects relating to the cause, yet the subscriptions obtained amount to \$10,015.23, of which \$7,963.22 has been paid. Of this amount \$3711 was from Louisiana; \$2930 from Mississippi; and \$265.23, including \$1200 from the State Society at Frankfort, from Kentucky; \$590 from Mobile, Alabama, and \$100 from New Albany, Indiana. It must be recollected that my efforts in Louisiana were confined principally to New Orleans, and

in Mississippi to Natchez, and that I was able to visit but a small portion of Kentucky. Many of the individual donations were large, and bestowed with a cheerfulness and grace of manner which much increased their value.

Whether we consider instances of the emancipation of slaves with a view to their colonization in Africa: the munificent bequests recently made to the Society, or the amount of money contributed by the Auxiliary Associations in Mississippi and Louisiana, we may conclude that throughout the Union there is no field of better promise to the cause, none from which emigrants in larger numbers, or more suitable, are to be expected; none which will yield ampler means for their prosperous settlement in Liberia. I doubt not that each successive year will exhibit new and brightening evidences of the truth of this opinion, that bequests to the Society will multiply, that thousands of slaves will be placed under its protection, and that the spirit of Humanity, gentle and refreshing as the breezes of the South, will fill the sails of many a ship as she leaves the Mississippi richly freighted with liberated men, and the offerings of the good and the pious to convey them to the country and the people of Africa.

I have alluded to the incipient movements of the Mississippi and Louisiana Societies towards the establishment of new colonies upon the African coast. Those Societies do not contemplate, for the present at least, any change in their relations to the Parent Society, and any settlements they may plant in Africa are to be subject to the laws and government of Liberia. But the very movements themselves involve in their nature nearly all the relations which can subsist between the Parent and Auxiliary Societies, and that these relations should be clearly defined and satisfactorily adjusted so that the views and operations of each will be perfectly intelligible to the other, and all collision and perplexity in this country and Africa be avoided, is desired not less by the Managers in Mississippi and Louisiana than by those of the Parent Board. The evils of misunderstanding and of a disagreeing if not conflicting policy between some of the Branches and the National Society, are already to a small extent experienced, and every sober friend to African Colonization must desire to see framed a comprehensive system which shall secure both here and in Africa that harmony of purpose and action to promote the plan, indispensable to any extended and permanent success. The excellent author of the Report to the Mississippi Society (alluded to heretofore) expressed the hope that some general plan would be devised, which admitting to some extent of separate action in State Societies, might neither impair the energy nor weaken nor disturb the control of the Parent Society. This, I doubt not, is, if practicable, desirable.—There are advantages to be derived from enlisting State interests and emulation in the cause. The people of Mississippi will give more to sustain a Mississippi Colony than for one equally related to every State in the Union. There are also disadvantages. It may be questioned whether at present they do not overbalance its advantages. In this scheme of Colonization nothing effectual can be done with small means without system. The present contributions to the object, if united, may effect something; should they be divided and expended by the

several State Societies, will there be a gain, by their increase, to compensate for what is lost by divided counsels and divided strength? Is there not danger that the efficiency if not existence of the whole scheme will be threatened by the loosening of all the bonds of union?

Still it is of great importance that the Parent Society should endeavour by all judicious means to meet the views and satisfy the expectations of the numerous and generous friends of the Society in the Western and Southwestern States. Among some, the most active and liberal, the opinion prevails, that whenever emigrants are to depart from a particular State, the means of sending them should be supplied from that State, and that the Society therein, should be expected to collect them together, provide for their wants, and superintend their embarkation; and that if a territory in Liberia be exclusively appropriated for emigrants from such State, the sympathy and benefactions of its citizens will gather largely around it, as an object of peculiar interest and special protection.

Without abandoning the opinion, long and after much reflection entertained, that the Colonization project can, at least for some time to come, be most successfully conducted by one central Board, which shall control generally the funds and operations for the cause, both in the U. States and Africa, I have already ventured to suggest to the Board, whether, under all circumstances, and especially in view of the opinions of some of the best friends of the Society, it might not be wise to concede to such Auxiliary State Societies in the South as may desire it, the right, and throw upon them the responsibility of removing and providing for, on their passage and in Liberia, all emigrants from their respective States, upon the following or similar conditions:

1st. That the emigrants be of fair character.

2d. That for each emigrant colonized, a certain sum be paid to sustain the varied operations of the Parent Society both in this country and Africa.

3d. That the Parent Society be informed, at least six weeks before its departure, of each expedition intended to be sent, and of the number and character of those expected to embark.

4th. That quarterly or monthly reports of the proceedings of such State Societies, the amount of funds received and expended, be transmitted to the Managers of the Parent Society.

5th. That all the settlements or colonies in Liberia shall be under one and the same Government, established by the General Society, and that all the resources of the Colonial Government shall be pledged for the defence of each and every settlement.

6th. That nothing in this arrangement shall be regarded as excluding the Parent Society from endeavours, as it may find them necessary, to raise funds for its general purposes in each and every State of the Union.

It is hoped this subject will receive the early and deep consideration of the friends of the Society, since the unsettled state of the relations between the Parent and Auxiliary Societies tends inevitably to perplex the affairs and defeat all the great and excellent ends of the Institution.

The appointment, with the concurrence of the Societies of Louisi-

ana and Mississippi, of some gentleman of talents and zeal in the cause, to an agency in those States, is an object of great moment; and from the judicious exertions of such an individual large accessions might be secured both of influence and funds to the Society.

The efforts of a well-qualified Agent in the Western States could not fail to be amply rewarded, and the early selection and appointment of some gentleman to explain the principles and advocate the claims of the Society in all the principal towns and cities of those States will, I trust, be duly considered by the Board.

I cannot conclude this Report, without expressing, in the most decided and earnest manner, my conviction, strengthened by all the information of the state of public sentiment, which I have been able to acquire during visits to a large majority of the States of this confederacy, that the friends of African Colonization are urged, by the best and highest motives which can stir the human soul to action, to present their cause, with all ability of argument and force of appeal to their respective State Legislatures, and to Congress: inviting the Governments under which we live, and which were founded for the noblest purposes, to assist by their power and treasure a work which must cement our Union, give a new impulse to the cause of Liberty, and shed over a people and a continent, savage, cheerless, and unblest, the healthful influence of civilization, and the inextinguishable light of the Gospel. By such a course nothing can be lost—every thing may be gained.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to be,

With great respect, your ob't. Serv't.

R. R. GURLEY, *Secretary.*

#### EXPEDITION FOR CAPE PALMAS.

The brig *Niobe* sailed from Baltimore on the 31st of October for Cape Palmas, having on board Dr. HALL, (late Governor of the Maryland Colony at that place) the Rev. THOMAS S. SAVAGE, M. D., Missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church; the Rev. D. WHITE and Lady, Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Mr. JAMES, a man of colour and printer, sent out by the same Board as an assistant to the Mission; Mr. DAVID JAMES, a coloured man and Missionary under the care of the Methodist Protestant Church; and thirty-two emigrants, thirteen of whom were emancipated that they might enjoy the blessings of freedom in Liberia. Of these thirteen, eleven were liberated by the Rev. ALEXANDER M. MARBURY, M. D., of Prince Georges county, Maryland. This expedition is sent out by the State Colonization Society of Maryland. The emigrants are many of them young men, and represented as resolute, active, moral, and enterprising.

## MR KEY ON THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

[Most of our readers are probably aware that in April last REUBEN CRANDALL, M. D., was tried before the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia for Washington county, on an indictment for publishing libels with intent to excite sedition and insurrection among the slaves and free coloured people of that District. His able and learned Counsel adopted a line of defence which brought so prominently into discussion the principles and practice of the American Colonization Society, that a gentleman of great skill and accuracy in the art of stenography determined to report the portion of one of the speeches of FRANCIS S. KEY, Esq., Counsel for the prosecution, which related to that Institution. The report was submitted to Mr. KEY for revision; but other engagements prevented him from examining it until recently. It is now presented to our readers, as an exposition of the objects of the Society by one of its founders and constant friends, and as a specimen of the eloquence of a distinguished orator of our country. The note at the end has been added by Mr. KEY.—EDIT. AM. REC.]

MR. KEY said the Jury had been truly told that this was a most important cause. It would have been so, however it had been defended. But a ground of defence had been taken, somewhat to his surprise, which infinitely increased its importance. The Counsel for the Traverser had not been satisfied to rest his defence on the denial of the publication of the alleged libels: They were boldly defended, justified, or excused; they were declared not to be libellous—so that if the Traverser did publish them, he was still to be acquitted.

There were then staked on the present issue two great conflicting rights:—our right, and the right of the whole slaveholding community, to self-protection; and the right of others to prostrate its laws and disturb its peace,—our right to our property and our homes, under the sanction of the Constitution, and the right of others to excite to plunder and insurrection.

If it shall be determined that their right is the strongest—that the right of protection must yield to the right of insurrection, the sooner we know it the better. If we cannot prevent such publications as those charged in this indictment from being scattered like fire-brands among us; if we cannot punish the agents who are taken in the very act of distributing them; if they are to be allowed, to use the language of one of the pamphlets in this indictment, “to publish them in high places and low places and in all places where human beings are to be found—to proclaim them from the house-top, and to whisper them in chimney corners” there is nothing left for us but to yield and take the best terms our adversaries will give us.

What those terms are, they tell us: We are to give up our slaves—not for compensation—not gradually as we may be enabled to substitute other labour, and as the slaves may become prepared for the change in their condition, but absolutely, unconditionally, immediately. Nor is this all. They are to remain among us—to be admitted immediately to a full and equal participation in all civil and social privileges. Then, if we do not like our new condition, we can go away—and the friends of human rights and amalgamation can come and take our places.

He therefore considered it far more important than any thing else belonging to this cause, to settle this matter of right; to ascertain whether the writings charged in this indictment are libellous or innocent—whether we can punish those who publish them or whether those who have no common feeling or interest with us, may distribute them, without opposition, whenever they please, and wherever they “can find *human beings* to receive them.”

What is libellous? The law, as he had stated it in the opening, had not been questioned. Whatever tends to bring the laws into contempt—whatever excites to violence and endangers the public peace.

What are these writings? They had been read, and he need not repeat them. They declare that every law which sanctions slavery is null and void, and that obedience to it is a sin; that we have no more rights over our slaves than they have over us. Does not this bring the constitution and the laws under which we live into contempt? Is it not a plain invitation to resist them?

Then look at the excitement intended and avowed in these writings. That in the first count exhibits the most shocking and disgusting details of the cruelties inflicted on slaves. It is true, as has been said by the Defendant's Counsel, the scene is laid in Jamaica. But why they are to be published and distributed here, we are not left to conjecture. They are round up by declarations that “they belong to the system of slavery”; that they are not in particular places, but without limitation, “among its actual fruits.” He need not call the attention of the Jury to these details, grossly exaggerated as he believes them to be; but it had not been denied, and it could not be denied, that they were most revolting and exciting; and he who was wicked enough to desire to call up those passions that would lead to violence and bloodshed, could find nowhere materials better suited to his purpose.

Then look at the libel charged in the second count—the passage which he had read, as was said by the Traverser's Counsel, with so much feeling, but which only seemed criminal because so read. He could not read such a passage without feeling. He knew no one who could. The gentleman could see no harm in it!—not even in the horrid threat and the malignant taunt with which it concludes—equalled by nothing, unless it be the parallel passage read from one of the Emancipators found on the Traverser, which alluded to the Southampton massacre as “an earthquake” which disturbed us “in our snoring.”

And look at the pictures charged as libellous in the third count. For what and for whom were they intended? Did the friends of human rights mean them as arguments addressed to the understandings of their Southern brethren? or were they for circulation in the “low places”?—to save even the “whisper” “in the chimney corner,” and to speak to those who could understand no other language?

The nature and tendency of all these things, and of the similar things that had been read in evidence from the Emancipators found upon the Traverser, were too plain to bear a dispute. He had not, he said, as he remembered, heard any argument from the other side to shew that they had any other meaning, or any innocent meaning;

or that they were not calculated to produce discontent and excitement. One of the gentlemen had defended the Anti-Slavery Society, and appealed to its constitution, in which it disclaimed any design to effect its object by a resort to physical force. He should take the liberty of contrasting with this disclaimer its admitted publications. We have also heard of the coolness and moderation of the Emancipator. He should refer to no others than those already read, to shew its malignity and violence.

He had been supposed to have acquitted this Anti-Slavery Society of any evil intention. He had been misunderstood. The Society and its publications are in the hands of men whose intentions are too plainly manifested and avowed, to permit any unprejudiced man to think well of their intentions. He had (he said) admitted, and was willing to admit, that there were many well-meaning men among them. Men who have been deceived and inflamed upon the subject of slavery by the high colouring and exaggerated descriptions of a state of society to which they are strangers. When they come among us, or are otherwise better informed, they renounce these opinions. There were, he had no doubt, many honest men among them, and sensible men—but, as was well said on another occasion, the honest men were not sensible, at least on this subject, and the sensible men were not honest. All men, however, must be supposed to intend what it is the evident tendency of their doctrines to accomplish: and if this rule be applied to the libels charged, as it must be, we can have no doubt of the intentions of their authors and publishers.

It had indeed been said that as to these publications, we are in no danger from them—that we occupy a middle ground, and that here there has been no disturbance or excitement. He was compelled (he said) to think differently. The testimony in this cause shewed that there had been excitement and danger here. Dr. Crandall was told shortly after his arrival here with these publications, that the attempt upon the life of his mistress by Mrs. Thornton's slave, for which he has been since convicted, was instigated by the New York abolition pamphlets, passages from which he had been heard to repeat. But even if we were in no danger here, we could not but feel a sympathy for others who were,—for the whole slave-holding community to which we belong, against whose safety and happiness these incendiary writings were directed.

The main ground of argument, if not the only one, urged in the defence, to shew that the matters charged were not libellous, was that others had published among us writings of the same import and tendency; that books had been written from the time of the Virginia Convention, and speeches made in legislative, political, and colonization meetings on the same subject, containing the same doctrines, and in language equally strong and exciting. If this could be shewn, it was, he contended, no defence, and furnished no excuse to the Traveller. If PATRICK HENRY, MR. JEFFERSON, MR. PINKNEY, and others have written and spoken with freedom and warmth on the subject of slavery in times and on occasions when they considered it safe and fit to discuss such a subject, does it give any warrant to a man like Dr. Crandall, having no common interest with us, to come

among us, and at a time and on occasions which we consider dangerous, force upon us such discussions? Because we may choose, in legislative halls and deliberative assemblies, to discuss questions in which we are interested, even if we did so in language like that charged in this indictment, is he to be allowed the same freedom? Still further, shall he be allowed to address this language wherever and to whomever he may please?—to speak it “*in high places and low places, and in all places where human beings are to be found*”?—to “*proclaim it from the house tops and to whisper it in chimney corners,*” as he, and those he is acting with, assume the right and avow the determination to do? No excuse, no palliation for any interference, much less for such an interference, by such a man, with the rights, the interests, and the safety of others, could be derived from any discussions, however free, intemperate, and indiscreet, which we may think proper to allow on certain occasions among ourselves. If therefore the Traverser's Counsel have succeeded, in the wide range they have taken among writings and speeches upon this subject, in discovering any expressions of the same tendency with those charged upon the Traverser, they have gained nothing for his defence. But they have not succeeded. In the parallel they have attempted to run between our writers and speakers upon the subject of slavery, and those of the Anti-Slavery Society, they have wholly failed. They have found plain admissions and eloquent descriptions of the evils of slavery: but do they find one word to recommend the anti-slavery remedy, a remedy far worse than the disease? Do they proclaim the nullity of the constitution and the laws?—recommend the immediate release of the slaves, and their admission to civil privileges?—and justify either the proclaiming, or the whispering, among them, of the right of insurrection?

Look at the selections the gentlemen have brought before you.

Mr. K. here read and commented on the following passage in the speech of Patrick Henry, to shew that he deplored the necessity of slavery, and not only did not favor the rash projects of Abolitionists, but thought there was at that time nothing to be done but to meliorate the condition of the slaves.

“As much as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids its abolition: I deny that the General Government ought to set them free, because a decided majority of the States have not the ties of sympathy and fellow-feeling for those whose interest would be affected by their emancipation. The majority of Congress is to the North, and the slaves are to the South. In this situation, I see a great deal of the property of the people of Virginia in jeopardy, and their peace and tranquillity gone away. I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of Heaven which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow men in bondage. But is it practicable by any human means to liberate them, without producing the most dreadful and ruinous consequences? We ought to possess them in the manner we have inherited them from our ancestors, as their manumission is incompatible with the felicity of the country. But we ought to soften as much as possible the rigor of their unhappy fate. I know that in a variety of particular instances, the legislature, listening to complaints, have admitted their emancipation. Let me not dwell on this subject.”\*

This great man (Mr. K. continued) might well speak of the neces-

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\* Mr. Henry's speech. Debates in the Virginia Convention in 1788, page 422. Edit. Richmond 1805.



sity of slavery, and exculpate those upon whom the evil had been inflicted. It was brought upon the Colonies by no fault of their's. Several of them, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Georgia, had most earnestly, but ineffectually, remonstrated against it.

So as to all that had been read from Mr. Jefferson, Judge Tucker, Mr. Pinkney, and others: they thought of slavery as Patrick Henry did; but not one word of recommendation could be found for the madness of abolition. On the contrary, the only remedy they hoped for was future and gradual, with all the preparation and conditions to make it safe, fair, and practicable to the masters, and beneficial to the slaves.

He then adverted to the address which had been read from the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky. It contained, no doubt, strong expressions upon the subject of slavery, but did it recommend abolition? No, it recommended measures for the melioration and improvement of the slaves, in order to fit them for a *gradual change of condition*—measures which are denounced as sinful and abominable by the Abolitionists, as appeared in the articles already read to the Jury.

But the most extraordinary effort to exhibit writings equally libellous and dangerous with those charged in this indictment, was that which was directed to the Colonization Society and its members, the speeches at its meetings, and its reports and publications. And yet it was admitted that a most irreconcilable war had always existed between that Society, from its very origin, and the Abolitionists; and the cause of quarrel was avowed to be that the Colonization Society, as was contended, had nothing to do with the question of slavery, and was the supporter and apologist of slavery. The very pamphlets from which the libellous extracts charged in the indictment are taken, contain these accusations of the Colonization Society.

[Mr. K. here read several passages.]

In the book, also, of Mr. Jay, from which one of the gentlemen had read passages, we find the 2nd article of the constitution of the American Colonization Society quoted, to show the Society's disclaimer of any interference with the subject of slavery—and this disclaimer Mr. Jay denounces as “the vice of the Society.” He is against the Colonization Society, because it professes to have nothing to do with slavery.

“Art. 1. This Society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States.

“Art. 2. The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.”

“The simplicity of the object of the Society, as stated in its constitution, tends in a powerful degree to encourage and enforce this compromise of principle. The constitution in fact vests a discretionary veto in every member on the expression of unpalatable opinions. The attention of the Society is to be ‘*exclusively*’ directed to the colonization of persons of colour, and the constitution contains no allusion to slavery. Hence any denunciation of slavery as sinful, any arguments addressed to slaveholders to induce them to manumit their slaves, would be unconstitutional, and are therefore carefully avoided.” “True it is that the constitution is as silent, with respect to manumission, as it is to slavery; but by common consent this silence

is not permitted to interpose the slightest obstacle to a unanimous, vigorous, and persevering opposition to present manumission.”\*

Of the publications of the Society, the greatest stress was laid upon a number of the *African Repository*, which contained, among some excellent and unobjectionable things, a vehement and eloquent denunciation of slavery, in an address of Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Yet the views of the Society upon the objectionable parts of this address, are to be found plainly expressed in the same number in which they published it. They are as follows:

“*Speech of Mr. Breckinridge.*—The speech which we publish in our present number, is certainly an able and eloquent production. In the sentiments of this speech generally, we concur, but we wish it to be distinctly understood, that we consider slavery to be an evil, which cannot, without producing evils greater than itself, be abolished, except by deliberate, cautious and gradual measures. The present generation did not produce, and are not therefore responsible for the existence of the present form of society in our Southern communities. If the state of things is wrong, it should be set right, but only with due regard to the rights and interests of all parties. The Colonization Society is removing the greatest obstacle in the way of emancipation, but none, we think, who is acquainted with the circumstances and condition of our Southern States, and who has any conscience or humanity, would deem it expedient or Christian to dissolve *instantaneously* all the ties which unite masters and slaves. We rejoice in the awakening interest felt in the cause of the Colonization Society throughout Kentucky, and the greater part of the Union. The condition of our coloured people demands the sober and solemn consideration of all the friends of our country and our race. Judicious plans for their relief and improvement cannot too speedily be adopted. The obligation to adopt such plans is not less imperative and immediate than the duty of frowning upon all attempts to infringe upon the rights of any of our citizens, or disturb the peace of any part of our country. We have no sympathy with the man, who, professing to condemn war, is doing all in his power to kindle hostile feelings, and the fiercest passions in the minds of a numerous class of our population.”—*Idr. Rep. vol. 7. p. 185, 186.*

As to the speeches made at the meetings of the Colonization Society, many gentlemen had thought it right and fair and safe, on such occasions, to admit the evils of slavery, and to show to those who wished to discover a remedy for those evils, that the scheme of this Society by removing an otherwise insuperable bar to emancipation, in providing a place of transportation for the slaves, presented the only safe and practicable remedy for the gradual cure of these evils.

Two passages had been read, with great triumph, from a speech of his own. Mr. K. said he would read them with the few intervening paragraphs.

“I would premise what I have to say to them by stating two very plain propositions. The first is, that the subject of slavery, in some way or other, will come into the thoughts, feelings, and plans of men situated as we are. It is in vain to say—let it alone. There may have been a time when the excitement now felt on this subject might have been stilled. When it was determined by our fathers to secure to themselves and their posterity the rights of freemen and the blessings of independence, then should they have been warned of the exciting consequences that would result from the acquisition and enjoyment of such rights. Then should it have been shewn how they would lead to conceptions and discussions dangerous to the rights of property and the public peace. Then should they have been called to choose between these conflicting interests, and to count the cost of what they might lose by declaring to the world that all men were free and equal, and appealing to Heaven for its truth. But there was then no man cold enough for such a calculation—no man who could darken the brightness of that day by raising such a question. It is too late now. In this age, in this country, the agitation of this subject is unavoidable. Legislation never can restrain it. Public sentiment never will. You may as well forge fetters for the winds, as for the impulses of

\* An Inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies. By William Jay. 3d edition, p. 13, 14.

free and exulting hearts. If speech and action could be separated, there would be excitement in the very looks of freedom.

The other proposition is this: That, among the plans and discussions, that relate to this delicate subject, it must happen that some will be rash and dangerous.

It is not to be expected, that men, not well informed of facts as they exist, and misled by the ardor of an inconsiderate zeal, will not devise projects, and hold them out to others, which may be attended with the most disastrous consequences. This is the nature of things. It must occur, in respect to every subject, which, like this, contains within itself the elements of good or evil, more especially when that excitement is connected with some of the best principles and feelings of the heart.

Now, Sir, put these two propositions together, and silence and inaction are unavoidable, and long runs a course of improper projects, almost unavoidable; and what are we to do? Something we must do. However desirous we might be to do nothing, it is impossible, because others will not consent to do nothing; and if we relinquish the task of action, it will infallibly fall into hands most unfit to receive it. Nothing remains, then, but to devise something safe and practicable, and place it in prudent hands.

And now, Sir, I would respectfully ask our opponents, of both descriptions, to consider whether this has not been done by the establishment of this Society. I would ask the abolitionist to suspend his own labours, and consider the object and the consequences of ours. I would ask him if it is not better to unite with us in what is safe and practicable, and may be managed with the consent of those whose consent is not to be dispensed with, than to attempt to force his own views upon men, by means which they regard as dangerous.

Sir, this is the action which has been made by the Society, and which it yet makes to one class of its opponents. Nor is it altogether unsuccessful. Many active and benevolent men are now with us, who, but for this Society, would have been working on their own more questionable projects, and vainly attempting what, perhaps can scarcely be pursued, with safety to the peace and happiness of the country.

And may we not appeal also to our Brethren of the Society, and ask their fair consideration of the two propositions I have suggested? In feeling, discussion, and action, in reference to a subject upon which they are so sensitive, cannot be extinguished, is it not wise to endeavor to moderate and restrain them? May they not, if they cannot give their approbation to our Society, as good in itself, at least bring themselves to tolerate it as the preventive of greater evils? May it not be wise for those who must know that there are schemes more alarming to their interests than Colonization, to suffer us to enlarge our sphere of action, and bring those who would otherwise be engaged in dangerous and injudicious projects, to unite in our safer labors? May we not claim at least this merit for our labours:—that they are safe? May we not appeal to the experience of eleven years, to show that the work in which we are engaged can be conducted without excitement or alarm? And who are we, we may be permitted to ask, to whose hands this charge has been committed? We have the same interest in this object with our Southern Brethren, the same opportunity of understanding it, and of knowing with what care and prudence it should be managed. What greater pledge can we give for the moderation and safety of our measures than our own interests as slave-holders, and the ties that bind us to the slave-holding communities to which we belong?

I hope I may be excused if I add that the subject which engages us, is one in which it is our right to act, as much our right to act, as it is the right of those who differ with us not to act. If we believe in the existence of a great moral and political evil amongst us, and that only by our united efforts can we prepare the way for its removal, we must be obliged to combine our efforts, so that we act discreetly, and not in a dangerous manner, to the feelings of others, so that we make due allowance for those who are opposed to us, and exercise our opposition with patience, and even civility, to stimulate the feelings of our opponents, to which we look, may enable us to press it forward with safety.

Now what is said here that excites any affinity to the libellous matter in this indictment? The "great moral and political evil" of which I speak, is supposed to be slavery;—but is it not plainly the whole coloured race? But if I did say this of slavery, as I am quite willing to say it, here and on all fit occasions, do I not also in the same breath speak of emancipation as a far greater evil? Do I not

deprecate the rash and fatal measures of abolition, and all discussion of, or interference with, the subject of slavery? Do I not show that the indirect bearing of the Society's plan on slavery is safe—that the emancipation it thus produces is salutary to us and to the emancipated, and call upon all reasonable Abolitionists to renounce their own dangerous measures, and join us in the only operation that can remove an impediment to their wishes that can never be otherwise overcome? Do I not urge that the only way to prevent dangerous and improper measures from being pursued by men who are ignorant or reckless of their consequences, is to adopt discreet and proper measures that may operate indirectly upon the object, and put them into wise and prudent hands, whose interests and feelings and close acquaintance with the subject and all things connected with it, will ensure their safety and success?

Now what were the rash and dangerous measures to which this extract alludes? Who are the violent and reckless men whose madness is thus to be apprehended? What, but these wild schemes of abolition? Who, but the fanatics who will peril every thing, even the peace and lives of their brethren, to carry out those schemes?

And thus, the speech that denounces these libels and their authors and publishers, is exhibited as their justification!

No—the Colonization Society and its members had been true to the article quoted from its constitution. Their labours had been *exclusively* directed to the removal to Africa, with their own consent, of such of our coloured people as were free, or were emancipated with the view to such removal. And what had they accomplished? On the coast of that ill-fated continent from which their fathers had been torn, spots of brightness are beginning to appear, the happy abodes of more than three thousand of their free and civilized and Christian descendants. They are restored to the land of their fathers: and they will be blessings to that land. Their light will shine into its dreary wastes, and “its solitary places shall be glad,” and its wildernesses “shall blossom as the rose.” A country depopulated by a cruel trade in the days of ignorance and avarice, will be filled with its long-lost children, restored in these better days of Christian enterprise. The religion to which they owe their restoration, which will give to an admiring world this proof of its reality and power, they will bear with them; and with such men to proclaim it, and such facts to attest it, to their benighted brethren, the powers of darkness will flee before it, and the visions of prophecy will be fulfilled in a consummation that

“Vindicates the ways of God to man.”

Let what has been thus accomplished be compared with all that abolition, with all its zeal and resources for the many years in which it has been in operation, has effected. Will not the Abolitionists see that the very object they have in view, has been, by these means, far more successfully attained than by all their own labours? And by whom has this work been accomplished? By the men the Abolitionists denounce—by slaveholders. A very great proportion of the colonists in these settlements are emancipated slaves, voluntarily emancipated, and nine-tenths of the funds expended in the establishment and prosecution of this work of benevolence, have been given

—slaveholders.

Additions are continually making to these settlements as the funds of the Societies enable them, and every year slaves are voluntarily emancipated and offered as colonists. And yet the very men who are thus doing for the Abolitionists their own work, a work of which they have done, and can do, comparatively, nothing themselves, are vilified and denounced by Abolitionists. They desire the freedom of the slaves. Slaveholders emancipate their slaves, and moreover provide means for their settlement and support in Africa. They go and are free and prosperous. Shall not the Abolitionist rejoice at this accomplishment of his own purpose? Will he not give his approbation and his aid? No—it excites his highest wrath. It is persecution, injustice, cruelty. Why? Because they are required to go to Africa. That is made the condition of their emancipation. And why is this condition objected to? In Africa they are in the enjoyment of free and equal rights—a situation essential to happiness. Can the Abolitionists find a place for them in our own country, where they will be allowed free and equal rights? Will they receive them among themselves on these terms? Are the free coloured persons now among them in this condition? No. But they demand that the slaveholders shall emancipate them, and then admit them to equal rights and privileges with themselves, a condition to which they know they are not admitted and will not be admitted among themselves in the free states.

Is not this a most unreasonable demand?

That this condition, of the removal of the emancipated slaves, is beneficial to them is a matter of fact, proved by comparing their situation in Africa with their situation in the free States of our country. And their owners believe that it is essential to the safety and happiness of their own community. Either of these considerations justifies the condition.

The Abolitionist, then, sees his own avowed object in a course of accomplishment to a great and continually increasing extent, and he objects to it. He insists that it shall be done without any reference to the welfare of the slave, or the security of the master; that it shall be done, not gradually, as it only can be done—but immediately, as it is not possible to be done. All the reason he gives for this, is the assertion of abstract propositions, which are to be maintained under all circumstances: Slavery is an evil—therefore to be immediately eradicated; slavery is a sin—therefore to be immediately abandoned. Yet there are evils which admit only of gradual remedies—evils, which cannot at certain times and under certain circumstances be removed, without being followed by still greater evils. And there are sins which do not admit of immediate reparation. If the sin of our fathers, or of those who governed our fathers, introduced slavery among us, may we not consult the interests of the enslaved, and our own security, in selecting the time and mode of separation? Are we bound at once to throw them at large upon a community, if we honestly believe that the consequence will be calamitous to them and dangerous to us? Men do not reason thus absurdly as to other evils or other sins.

Hunger is an evil. It is a sin not to feed the hungry when we have the means. These are as good abstract propositions as those of

the Abolitionists: but hunger may be a necessary evil, not to be removed but at the expense of a greater evil. And in certain circumstances, as in the paroxysm of a fever, it would be the greatest cruelty and a sin to relieve it. No man, unless the subject has turned his head, reasons thus upon abstract propositions, to be carried out, without regard to time, circumstances, or consequences.

That slavery is an evil, he believed, was felt and acknowledged by a very large proportion of the people of the slave States: but they felt and knew that it was a necessary evil, not to be removed (except gradually, and on the condition of colonization,) without being followed by far greater evils. His own experience and observation (he said) had greatly changed his opinions and feelings on this subject. In the course of his professional life he had, as their Honors on the bench well knew, been the common advocate of the petitioners for freedom in our courts. He had tried no causes with more zeal and earnestness. He had considered every such cause as one on which all the worldly woe of a fellow creature depended, and never was his success in any contests so exulting as when, on these occasions, he had stood forth as the advocate of the oppressed,

"The poor his clients, and Heaven's smile his fee."

But an experience of thirty five years had abated much of his ardour—for he had seen that much the greatest number of those in whose emancipation he had been instrumental, had been far from finding in the result the happiness he had expected. Instead of the blessings that he had believed were thus to be conferred upon them, the subsequent history of these persons had showed him that in most cases there were a few consoling exceptions—the change of their condition had produced for them nothing but evil.

Still he was far from being cold and indifferent on the subject. He could not rejoice, as he once did, when freedom was conferred upon those to whom he knew it would be a most perilous gift, and who would be placed in situations in which its best privileges and enjoyments would be denied to them. But he did rejoice when he saw it given under circumstances that justified the hope that it would be a real blessing and not a dangerous mockery. When they were to bear it to a land of their own, where all its privileges and blessings were to be theirs. Nor did he despair as to the result. If all may not be accomplished, there we may desire reference to this subject, (though et that he did not deny,) he believed that much would be accomplished—if all our land may not be delivered, he was sure that very considerable portions of land, labor, and he believed, would be delivered. And this will be done in a way so peaceful and advantageous as to invite all others to follow their examples, while they will afford them the means of doing so. The operations of the Anti-Slavery associations may retard this work, as they undoubtedly have done: but may we not hope that even Abolitionists will at last be able to see that in their own way they can do nothing; that it is better to remove an evil gradually, than never; and to do a great deal of a good work—the part done tending to promote the accomplishment of all—than to do none of it—and that, in doing it, the con-

sent of those among whom it is to be done, is essential; and that, if they are willing it shall be done in a certain way, we are to take that way.

But slavery is a sin—and we are to make no compromises or delays in putting an end to sin.

If slavery in its origin is here meant, all agree it is a sin; but if they mean, as indeed they plainly say, that buying a slave, or holding a slave, is, under all circumstances, a sin, no proposition can be more false. We need not imagine cases, as any man, any where, easily can, where these acts are the very contraries of sin. We all here know of such cases. The relation of master and slave often commences in an act of the plainest and purest charity—which, if a man has the means of doing it, and feels the obligation of doing to others as he would have done to him, he cannot help doing.

One of their Honors (he was sure) would remember a remarkable instance of this—in which they had prevailed upon a Quaker friend of theirs to forget his principles and join them in the purchase of a negro. He was about to be sold, most probably, away from his family. He had been in the service of the Quaker, and his wages for a few years would amount to the price demanded for him. He begged us to buy him, and let him work out the price. With the Quaker's help and share in the risk, we advanced the money; and the man repaid us, and was free. If this was a sin, (he said) he certainly had not repented of his share of it. It is true we might (if able to do so) have advanced the price as a gift, and it would have been a greater charity; but we were not able to do more than we did—perhaps if we had been very prudent, or it had been a less urgent case, we would not have thought ourselves able to do that. But the reasoning of the Abolitionists did not even occur to the Quaker. We did not think our inability to do the greater charity was any reason against our doing the less.

Instances like this are common in all the slave communities—and instances of far higher merit—where sacrifices of interest have been made, and burthens and obligations assumed, by becoming or continuing the master of slaves, which manifested the highest and noblest principles of our nature. How often have we seen a man struggling, through all his life, with debts and disabilities from which he could be relieved by a sale of slaves, at a price far above the value of their labour, only because his kindness to them and their fidelity and attachment to him made it impossible to him to give them over to others. How often has such a man died in the midst of his embarrassments, with debts accumulated by his careless generosity of nature and his indulgence to his slaves. These debts are now to be paid—and the slaves must be sold—unless their young master, who probably inherits nothing else but worn out fields, will save them by becoming their purchaser. His prudent friends advise him against thus beginning life with a burthen he will find it hard to bear. His interest pleads that it is better they should be sold—the debts paid, and that he should hold what remains clear of incumbrance. Selfishness suggests that such a sacrifice of his own interests is not his duty—that it is the law which sells them—that it is not his act—that he cannot help it. But he sees, among these afflicted and faithful creatures, his old kind nurse,

who has loved him as her own child—the old man who watched over his childhood and made his play things—their children, the play-mates of his youth. He remembers the shouts of joy that rung from every cabin, as he galloped past the quarter, on his returns from school, to spend his happy holidays among them—and he can't sell them. He gives bonds for the debts—and goes to work with his grateful and rejoicing slaves.

And this is "*a crying sin*"—"an *abomination*";—this is the scene to which the Abolitionist is to come, with his tracts and his pictures;—these are the cabins in which he is to "*whisper* in the chimney corners," like the toad at the ear of Eve, his fiend-like doctrines. These grateful creatures he is to teach that they are oppressed—that their master is a *robber*, a *murderer* of their souls and bodies. To such a master's dwelling they are to be expected to put the lighted brand—for such a heart they are to sharpen the knife!

He need not read over again the papers they had heard, proving that this is the work of abolition—the plain tendency of the publications which it is scattering throughout the land, and which it avows its determination to propagate every where "where human beings are to be found."

He had only to ask, in closing this branch of his argument, that the Jury would apply the undisputed definition of a libel he had given them when he commenced. They were to say whether that was not libellous, which thus struck at the sanction of public laws, outraged the feelings of humanity, and threatened the public peace.

#### NOTE A.

The present condition of the State of Maryland and its legislation for the last eight or ten years plainly show that that State is now undergoing the change that will make it a free State. The history of that change will be a demonstration to all our land of this fact:—*that no slave State can continue such by the side of a free State*—while the advantages of the change will be so great and obvious, that the operation of the same causes will be greatly accelerated in other States similarly situated.

Virginia and North Carolina are already well disposed to learn this lesson. All these States are friendly to the Colonization cause. It owes its success thus far principally to the people of these three States. They are unanimous in looking to Colonization as a necessary condition (except in peculiar cases) of emancipation. With this condition, there is in the people of all these States a manifest disposition to emancipation.

Let slavery be looked at with these facts and anticipations before us. Let the difference in the situation of our different slave States be considered:—One, in the interior, with slave communities all around it, and no free labour within its reach; another with the free labour overflowing from the adjoining free State—the increased rent and price of land;—with its emigrants from other States and foreign countries, no longer deterred by the fact of its being a slave State;—and it will be seen that, apart from humanity, free policy will dictate to the one, a course impracticable to the other;—that the one is happily in a condition to make a prosperous change in its institutions, which the other must wait for—but which will, when circumstances make it attainable, be accomplished in the same way and be equally beneficial.

Statistical facts in relation to the different States will give much light as to the operation of the principle I have laid down. In N. Carolina at this time land is at less than half the price of land of the same quality in the parts of Maryland near Pennsylvania. The common rent in N. Carolina is one-tenth, and in Maryland one-half, of the produce of lands of equal quality. In Virginia the same lands are at one-third.

The contrast also exhibited in the different counties of Maryland, as they are



near to, or distant from Pennsylvania, is very striking. In the former slavery has nearly ceased. In the latter, though decreasing, it still continues, and there is little free labour. But free labour and all its beneficial consequences will flow from what may be said to be the free counties into the others; and they will thus have the means of substituting other labour, while the increasing rents and prices of land will present to them the same inducements to avail themselves of it.

We may all see very clearly how this principle is to work. Let us be prudent and patient, and it will do much to rejoice the heart of the Patriot and the Philanthropist, and to awaken the hope that it may do all that we can desire for our country and mankind. May we not expect that our northern brethren, instead of applying their funds and efforts where they can do nothing, or nothing but harm, will at last see the propriety of confining them to a field of labour that is ready for their operations?—where their aid will be willingly received, and immediately applied towards effecting their object?

Thus the people in the States upon their borders will be enabled to accelerate their measures for accomplishing the change in their institutions which so many circumstances are concurring to make easy and advantageous. As those circumstances continue to operate, they will, they must part with their slaves. Many will sell them to the south. Many will prefer emancipating and sending them to Africa, if the means of doing so are attainable. Let both doors be set open. They both lead to the advantage of both masters and slaves. Their condition is decidedly better in the south as slaves, than they can be where the little profit of their labour makes their comfortable maintenance in their present situation almost impossible. At the same time every means of encouraging emancipation and removal to Africa should be liberally applied. And surely such masters as prefer this mode of disposition to that of selling them, deserve the assistance of the benevolent.

Here, then, it may be said to the friends of emancipation to the North and every where, is a State rapidly parting with its slaves, a State where they cannot remain. They must go away, they are going away, either to the South, still to be slaves, or to Africa, where they will be free and happy, and where too they will have a powerful influence not only in civilizing and enlightening the wretched inhabitants of that continent, and putting an end to the slave trade, but where they will prepare the way for numbers of their condition in our country to follow them to their father land.

Surely those who would choose for them the latter mode of disposition, will not refuse the aid thus called for to accomplish it.

## BRITAIN AND AMERICA

[*From the New-York Observer.*]

We have inserted, from the London Patriot of August 10th, the report of Dr. Wardlaw's remarks at a meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, convened for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the discussion between Messrs. Breckinridge and Thompson, in relation to slavery in America; and below we give the admirable letter of Mr. Breckinridge, in reply to Dr. Wardlaw. There is very little in this letter that is exceptionable. In his discussion with Mr. Thompson there was much, both in the spirit and the sentiment of Mr. Breckinridge's remarks, which we could not fully approve; but this letter is every where sufficiently courteous, and although very severe, is not more severe than the occasion demanded. Dr. Wardlaw, it will be seen, expressed his entire approbation of the course pursued by George Thompson, in this country. Although abundantly assured that the great body of our good men regarded Mr. Thompson's representations of our character and institutions as shameful distortions, and calculated to produce the most false and injurious impressions on the minds of our British brethren, Dr. W. chose to proclaim his belief that the representations are true; that we are as a nation guilty of the sin of slavery; and to insist that it is the duty of British Christians and British Clergymen to reprove us and rouse us to a sense of our sin. We are sorry that Dr. Wardlaw has taken this ground. It was not modest nor discreet to speak so confidently, when he knew that he was differing from thousands of his fellow-Christians, as intelligent and as conscientious as himself, and in better situated for forming a sound judgment in the case. Every sensible American who

reads Dr. W.'s remarks sees at once that they are based on a profound and pitiable ignorance of the whole history and nature of our form of government. The great crime of the American people, in the estimation of Dr. W., is, that in forming their constitution, they did not confer upon the new government the power to abolish slavery! For this omission, he thinks that "America, the country, the nation, the people of America, should for ever bear the disgrace and guilt of slavery!" And he "wonders that Mr. Breckinridge, or any other American, can stand forward and tell of this omission, and not blush and hang his head, to own himself an American!" It is evident that Dr. W. was entirely ignorant of the fact, that at the time of the formation of the constitution of the United States we were thirty independent and independent sovereignties, each having a perfect government of its own; and that the constitution of the United States is very little more than a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with a permanent commercial treaty superadded; the object of its framers being to leave the original governments with their powers as nearly perfect as possible; and that this feature of the constitution gives universal satisfaction, no abolitionist or anti-abolitionist ever thinking of uttering a complaint that the constitution was defective in not conferring upon the General Government the power to abolish slavery.\* In all the writings of our abolitionists, we do not remember ever to have seen even a suggestion that it would be wise to amend the constitution in this particular. And yet, in the view of Dr. Wardlaw, the want of such an amendment is our great sin, the sin for which he calls upon British Christians and British Churches most solemnly to reprove us; the sin which makes the guilt and disgrace of slavery national guilt and national disgrace!! If Dr. Wardlaw is correct in this view, then our abolitionists, and even his friend George Thompson, must come in for their full share of the guilt of American slavery, for when and where did any of them ever take a single step towards procuring such an amendment of our constitution?

American Christians are not unwilling to receive rebuke from their British brethren. Christian rebuke, administered in a christian manner, will always be well received by every Christian worthy of the name. In the height of our abolition excitement, a Christian traveller in any part of our southern country might have rebuked the Christian slaveholder with the utmost fidelity, and if he had done it in the spirit of a gentleman and a Christian, so far from giving offence, his reproof would no doubt have been kindly received, and gratefully remembered. But when Scotchmen undertake to exhort the people of Massachusetts on the sin of slavery; when Britons, with their hands still reeking with the blood of every species of oppression in every part of the globe, neglecting the work of philanthropy in their own empire, send their agent three thousand miles to denounce and charge with the sin of slavery a people who had abolished slavery more than fifty years; when the rebuke is found in the distorted representations of a man of heated imagination, and administered by men at a distance, over the heads of ecclesiastical bodies on the spot, embracing a collection of men suspicious and conscientious as any men on the earth; when we are rebuked under these circumstances, for sins which we know we never committed, and for which we do not and cannot feel guilty, we must be permitted to think that it is not the kind of rebuke which is enjoined in the New Testament, or which is likely to be profitable. We trust, however, that it will not be harshly received, but that, in a spirit of christian charity, all errors will be ascribed to the heads and not the hearts of our British brethren.

*To the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D., of Glasgow.*

SIR,—I observed in the London Patriot, of last week, an abstract of the proceedings of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, on the 1st of this month, at a public meeting held "for the purpose of expressing the sentiments of the society in reference to the recent discussion of American Slavery, between the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge and Mr. George Thompson." The greater portion of the report before me, is occupied with a speech made by you on that occasion, in proposing to

\* In the quadruple alliance recently formed between Britain, France, Spain and Portugal, there is no article giving the alliance power to abolish slavery in Cuba or Brazil! If we should say that this omission throws upon Britain and the British people all the disgrace and guilt of Spanish and Portuguese slavery; and should "wonder that any Englishman could stand forward and tell of this omission, and not blush and hang his head to call himself an Englishman," it would be hardly more absurd than what Dr. W. says of the Americans for the omission of which he complains in their constitution.

the meeting the following resolution, viz: "That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting the wish announced by Mr. George Thompson, to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any minister of the gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts; and that the recent discussion in this city between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed and augmented their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straightforward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal." This motion was seconded by the venerable and respected Dr. Kidstone, whose speech on the occasion is but briefly reported. Other resolutions—some of similar import, some of a general character—were offered and seconded by Dr. Heugh, and Messrs. Eadie, King, McLaren, and Kettle. But above all, the proceedings bear the signature of Robert Grahame, of Whitehill—whose venerable name is dear to every good man.

These proceedings, sir, have relieved me from a state of great and painful anxiety, as to the view my countrymen might take of the propriety of my taking any notice, more or less, of Mr. George Thompson. For while nothing is further from my purpose than to wound the feelings of any friend of that individual, it is necessary to say, that in America, every one who is not an abolitionist, or, in other words, ninety-nine hundredths of the people, consider him, not only unworthy of credit, but unworthy of notice. At length, I have a tangible proof, by which to make my countrymen feel, that persons of the utmost respectability, excellence, and piety, in Britain, not only concur in all the principles and proceedings, but partake of all the prejudices and ignorance of that individual, and openly defend his flagitious conduct. From this day forth, I deem myself fully acquitted on the only part of the subject which filled me with personal anxiety. For although you have not hesitated to speak in terms sufficiently disparaging of my humble efforts to defend this truth; yet as you have given no reasons for the judgment you have delivered, those who read for themselves may escape the influence even of your authority.—And as you have been pleased to decide on the whole merits of the case, as well as on the merits of the parties involved, in it,—I escape, of course, from the whole blame of having damaged the truth by feeble advocacy.

In this state of the case, it cannot surprise you, that I turn with delight from those who have hitherto assailed me, and address myself to you; that I avail myself of the right arising from your free and repeated use of my name, and your judgments both upon my character and acts, to speak freely in return. Let us forget the miserable trifling of Mr. Robert Bernard Hall. Let us pass over poor Moses Roper, who, it is but just to say, has written the most modest and sensible attack yet made on me. Let us even be moderate, in having absolutely silenced the garulity of Mr. Thompson, who begs off in his last note, which has just reached me, in the Patriot of the 17th instant. I have that to say which you have not only invited, but challenged me to utter, and to which I ask your serious regard.

I have manifested my deference to the judgment of a christian people, by discussing at its bar, questions purely national and personal, into which, under erroneous pretexts, they had interfered in a manner the most vexatious. I believed they were in great error,—I presumed they were sincerely disposed to do good,—I knew they were really doing us, and themselves, and the world, harm;—and challenged and forced into the matter, I have discussed it on its mere merits—admitting you and your people to be all you professed to be—and only endeavouring to prove that we were not as evil as you made us out. So far as you and those who can influence are concerned, you have declared that you remain more firmly than ever settled in your harsh judgments of us, and your fixed purpose to follow out all your offensive courses. Nay, you plainly declare, that rather than alter a tittle of your conduct, principles, opinions, or demands on this subject, you prefer that all fellowship between us and you should terminate. That argument and conclusion, then, being complete and final, we need say no more. I am content to wait and see, whether the American people will, at your suggestion, change their national constitution; or whether, in the event of the adequate majority for that purpose not being attainable, they will, as the inference of your argument, break up the confederacy—to regain your good opinion.

There is, as I have said, quite another view of the whole case. You say in the course of your speech, "If our American brethren saw any thing in us, which they

thought, and justly thought, was an evil of sufficient magnitude to induce their kind offices for its suppression, we ought to feel obliged by their using their endeavours to stir us up to a due consideration of it, and to practical efforts for its removal." And in the context you are somewhat pointed in enforcing this idea, as containing in it a great rule of duty. In general we have considered the ill-doing of this delicate office more hurtful than its omission. In particular, it has appeared to us as a pretext liable to infinite abuse, and practically resorted to most by those who had least ground and least right to display it. But, sir, I can hardly, either in faithfulness or honour, abstain any longer from its use. And the main object of this communication is, to point out, in the actual condition of considerable portions of the British empire, evils, which really are, or which your party has declared to be, of so palpable and so monstrous a description, that decency would seem to require you to repress them, or be very modest in rebuking others while they exist.

1. To come at once to the grand cause of outcry against us—the unhappy and indefensible existence of slavery, in many of the States. Will you be so good as to turn your eyes to the map of Africa, and fix them on a spot longer than half of Western Europe? At its southern extremity, find Cape Town. Then find the speech of Dr. Philip, delivered in Exeter Hall ten days after you delivered yours. In that town and neighbourhood are 9,000 British slaves!! Scattered over that vast peninsula are many thousand more of British slaves!! And yet the ear of day is dull with being told that in the British empire there are no slaves; and the very speech that has elicited these remarks was made at a meeting on the anniversary devoted to a glorious fact that never occurred, namely, "Slave emancipation in the British colonies."

2. Turn, now, I pray you, to the map of Asia, and find the vast dominions which God has lent to you there, embracing a population of one hundred and thirty millions of souls. Then look over a file of papers, and read a conversation that occurred in the Commons' House of Parliament, but a short time back, between the Hon. Mr. Buxton and Sir J. Hobhouse, on the subject of British slavery in India!! There you will find it admitted that "domestic slavery prevails to a great extent" in India, "especially in Bengal." There you will find proof that no direct effort was ever made to abolish it,—and reasons urged by the government why it cannot now be abolished,—and why treaties now existing seem to render its future abolition impossible!

3. Turn your attention, next, to the western side of the Atlantic ocean, and see nearly a million of apprentices in the West India islands; and then remember what you have yourself said and written on the subject of this system: and call to mind the innumerable declarations made weekly, up and down the country, by those who belong to your party, and who (at the Houdsworth Anti-Slavery Society, on the 3d of this month) denounced it as "aggravated slavery, under the delusive name of apprenticeship," and denounce every "proposal of government" as only calculated to excite suspicion.

Do I draw an inference at all strained, when I say that the subjects of a monarch, whose dominions in three quarters of the globe are, by their own showing and by irrefragible proofs, covered with slaves, should deal somewhat gently with other nations, who may chance to be in the same unhappy condition? Do I say too much, when I caution such people to be more guarded in boastful assertions, which are contradicted by the fact and the record of the case? Do I give needless offence, when I beg you to remember that your Parliament is omnipotent over this subject, and is therefore responsible for all the evils which exist, either through their negligence or by their consent? Alas! sir, it is an ancient habit, to be bitter against our brother for a mote, when a beam is in our own eye.

But I have more to add. We have been spoken against with great severity for neglect of the spiritual welfare of the coloured population of the United States: and you have, in an unhappy hour, said, you believed and approved these hard sayings. I have, in vain, denied; in vain, disproved them. My object now is, to show the condition of the country, whose people bring and credit them; still keeping the line of duty indicated by your suggestion.

4. Let me beg you then to look at the condition of Lower Canada, where the Roman Catholic religion is established by treaty and by law, where annual grants of public money are made to support it, and where it has had free course, until the people are so ignorant that by statute law the grand jurors and the school commissioners are allowed the privilege of making their marks instead of signing their

names, and where, according to the belief of the whole universe, except papists, a system of idolatrous worship is guaranteed by the power of the British realm.

5. Then look over the votes in the committee of supply in the present parliament, and you will see £8,928 "for the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth," (which is just about the sum the vilified Americans pay annually to promote the religion of Jesus Christ in Western Africa, through the Colonization Society,) and I ask you, as a Christian, to resolve the questions, which of these enterprises you deem most injurious to true religion? which you and your party have most actively opposed? and which is most under your eye and control? Heaven and earth are moved to prevent the spread of the Gospel in Africa through the Colonization Society; and not a whisper is heard to prevent the increase of idolatry in your own land through governmental patronage.

6. But a more frightful case remains. Remember that you have above one hundred millions of heathen in your Indian possessions;—then read the noble speech of the Rev. W. Campbell, a missionary from Bengalore, delivered at Exeter Hall, at the last annual meeting of the London Missionary Society. There, sir, you will find positive proof that the horrid system of Hindoo idolatry, in all its cruelty and corruption, is upheld, partaken of, and made a source of gain by the British authorities in India! Temples are supported by the government; priests and dancing women are paid a monthly allowance out of the public revenue; magistrates are present and aiding officially at their brutal ceremonies; military officers do their peculiar honors to the abominable thing; and British functionaries collect the wages of iniquity. And now, sir, what can the eagerness of party zeal find, in all its false allegations against us, equal to the naked deformity of these facts?

7. But pass again to another portion of your wide empire. In multitudes of publications I have seen our alleged neglect of the religious instruction of the coloured population of America made the basis of insinuations against the sincerity of our religious profession. If you will read the speech of Dr. Philip, already alluded to, you will find the following sentence:—"Boteman, a Caffre chieft, and others, have been petitioning me for missionaries, by every messenger through whom they could convey to me a verbal communication, for the last twelve years; and I have not yet been able to send them one." Gracious heaven! what an account will the twenty thousand Protestant ministers of Great Britain have to render for the souls of these poor Caffres, whom so many of them have forgotten, to abuse their brethren in America for neglecting a population among whom a larger portion hear the Gospel, than of the inhabitants of the capital of the British empire.

8. Let us look at London, the seat of your wealth, power, and civilization; the abode of your sovereign; the seat of your parliament; the see of a bishop, whose income would support a hundred missionaries. Listen to what the bishop says of so much of his diocese as is contained in the metropolis:—"There are," says he, "thirty-four parishes, containing above 10,000 souls each, (omitting all notice of those which contain less,) and in the aggregate 1,137,000 souls: but there is church room for only 101,62—less than one-tenth of the whole! Allow one church for every 3,000 souls, and 372 churches would be required; while, in fact, there are but 69: or, if consecrated chapels be added, only 100." That is, above 1,000,000 souls in a single city, and that city the seat of your glory, utterly unprovided for by the nation, and the Established Church. Now if we should add what is done by dissenters of all classes, and add also the destitute of the small parishes, the result might be varied a little; but still, make the best of it you can, and you are left with more people destitute of the means of grace in London alone than in all the United States! If you doubt these statements of the Lord Bishop of London, consult the proceedings of the last annual meeting of the City Mission; and then ponder whether the hundreds of pounds squandered on Mr. Thompson's trip to the United States, and in printing his slanders of that country, and the additional hundreds which I see Dr. Hough urged the people of Glasgow to give him by way of "testimonial fund," might not have been fully as well laid out in sending the Gospel to the British capital?

Besides, the accusations now made your own, on the general subjects of slavery in itself considered, and neglect of the religious instruction of the natives—the remaining charges which we have been arraigned upon—may, to a certain extent, fall under the general head of severity, injustice, and deep-rooted prejudice against the blacks. These things may be true, or they may be false. The statements and evidence on both sides are in reach of the public. You have vouched for their truth, and it is not now my design to show the contrary; but to show who they are

that are so ready to magnify real errors, and to allege false crimes upon their neighbors.

9. Pray, sir, were you ever in Ireland? If you were, you saw a land fertile and beautiful; a people, handsome, intelligent, and active; a climate more genial than any other in so high a northern latitude; in short, every thing that should make its teeming population rich, happy, and powerful. I was there. I saw hundreds of people who had no fixed abodes. I saw the majority of the houses of the lower classes to be worse than the stables and cow-houses in England. I saw thousands in rags; hundreds naked; and hundreds more naked, except a piece of a single old garment. I looked at the third report on the expediency of a poor law for Ireland, made by order of Parliament; and I found that 2,385,000 souls are out of work, have nothing to depend on, and are in distress for thirty weeks every year. It is a settled, indisputable truth, that one-third of the Irish people beg their bread two-thirds of every year. And yet enormous quantities of grain and live stock, and all sorts of provision, are exported from Ireland. And yet, in defiance of all this tremendous, long continued, and periodical suffering, there is no poor law, nor any sort of general provision by law for the poor of that island. But there are forty-nine regiments of horse and foot, and a constabulary force of about equal magnitude, ready to stay the people's stomachs with lead at night, and steel in the morning. This is the happy consummation of six hundred years of British authority! And how can you, sir, look any human being in the face, and charge his country with wrong, till you have strained every effort to redress this vast hereditary guilt? Or, if you fail, how can you speak, *nationally*, in the hearing of earth or heaven about human wrongs?

10. Look, for the last time, to the vast plains of South Africa, wet with the blood of murdered nations. Read the clear and masterly speech of Dr. Philip, already twice referred to:—"If a traveller who had visited that country twenty-five years ago, were to take his stand on the banks of the Keiskamma river, and ask what had become of the natives whom he saw there on his former visit;—if he took his stand on the rocks of the Sondaga river, and looked toward a country seventy miles in breadth before him, he might ask the same question;—if he were to take his stand again on the Fish river, and then extend his views to Caffraria, he might ask the same question; and were he to take his stand on the Snow mountain, called Graaf Reinet, (he would have before him a country containing 40,000 square miles) and ask where was the immense concourse he saw there twenty-five years ago; no man could tell him where they were?" Ask Lord Glenelg, his Majesty's principal Secretary for the colonies, and he will admit that the system of treachery, plunder, and butchery, by which these brave and upright savages have been wasted in exterminating oppression, constitutes perhaps the most degrading of all the chapters of the history of mankind! It is a chapter written in the tears and blood of slaughtered tribes—and is hardly yet dry upon the paper that records it for the execration of posterity! It is a chapter that had not been fully enacted when you were concocting plans and arranging agencies, by which to make illustrious the benign sway of universal freedom, justice, and benevolence in your *monarchy*—and to brand upon our *republic* reproaches which all coming generations could not efface.

But why need I multiply particulars? When these things are set right, and you seek from us another list, we will say to you concerning your polity, in nearly all its parts, things which you will then be better able to bear. We will point out how you may establish real freedom among yourselves, and thereby show your acquaintance with its sacred principles; how you can make your laws just, equal, and humane, and thereby manifest in practice your devotion to principles commended for others. At present such a proceeding could only irritate; and is the more readily forborne, because it is not as an American or a republican, but as a Christian, my mission brought me to you. The assurance, too, that the party with which you act is, in point of numbers, a very small minority of the British nation, makes me the more willing to adhere to this view of my duty. Indeed, it is chiefly because your party has much of its strength in that sect to which I was more particularly sent, that it seemed clearly necessary for me to take part at all in these discussions.

I readily admit that time, patience, sacrifices, and much labor, are needful for the redress of the evils I have pointed out. I know that the present generation is not responsible in such a sense for most of them, as past generations have been. I am convinced that multitudes of Englishmen deplore, and would gladly remove

them. I am satisfied that it is by the silent influence of example, and the kind and clear exposition of general principles, rather than rude and harsh personal or national assaults, that we can do you good, in these or similar cases. And I gladly declare my belief, that the Christians of America, as such, can and ought to hold Christian intercourse and sympathy with the Christians of Britain—notwithstanding the British nation may be responsible in the matters alleged; and that we can and ought to do it—without perpetual vituperation and insult, even for what is true—not to say without gross perversions of the facts and merits of the case. Such, sir, are my views of the subject. I deeply regret that yours are so widely different. And I humbly beseech you to imagine the whole course of your proceedings and arguments—embracing of course the mission of Mr. Thompson, and his conduct since his return—made ours, and our case made yours; and then decide what would by this time have been the feelings of your people toward us, if we had treated you as you have treated us? I declare, in the presence of God, my firm belief, that if things go on much longer as they have progressed for the last two years, there will not be found on earth men more estranged from each other than the professors of religion in the two countries. I have already witnessed the spectacle of a part of the religious press in England urging forward the government of the country to an intervention, if necessary, with arms, against the progress of liberty in Texas, upon the false and ignorant pretext that the government of the United States, unless prevented by force, would possess itself of that country, and introduce slavery there! The people generally of America are long ago roused to the highest pitch of indignation against your proceedings in this whole business. You have now reduced the Christians of that country to a position, where, if they act with you or admit your previous statements or principles, they become, on your own showing, infamous! You may now behold in the preceding statement the posture in which all the world but yourselves have viewed you during all this terrible affair.

Was it ignorance of your real condition, or was it ignorance still more gross of ours, or was it national vanity and prejudice, or was it all these unitedly, that impelled the abolition party in Britain to pursue the course they have adopted? It is not my desire to give offence, and I will not therefore attempt to decide. Your party profess to have full and accurate information about us; though it is very odd that, at your meeting, Dr. Hough moved, and Mr. Eadie seconded, and your “very numerous and highly respectable meeting” unanimously voted, that our national constitution contained a very important principle, which is not only not in it at all, but which the very discussion you were pronouncing on, *ex cathedra*, proved not to be in it! Well informed gentlemen, not to say just judges, should be more cautious. It does not become me to say that your party are ignorant of the condition of their own country; but, if they knew the facts now commended to their notice, it is not easy to reconcile their singular disregard of them with their rampant benevolence on the other side of the water; and if they were unacquainted with them, they had better stay at Jericho till their beards be grown. Upon the delicate and painful subject of national prejudice, it is difficult to speak properly at all; but especially so to gentlemen whose passion lies in surmounting all prejudices whatever. The *John Bull* newspaper is said to represent the views and feelings of the extreme High Church and Tory party; the *Record* is the reputed vehicle for Low Church sentiments; the *Patriot*, I am told, stands in the same relation to the Congregational Dissenters, embracing both Baptists and Independents, who are generally Whigs and Radicals. The *Times*, which, from its great ability, must always wield a vast influence, is considered the organ of the Independent Conservative interest. I am very likely to be mistaken; but I have tried to inform myself of your condition, and this is what I learn. Be so good, sir, as to read any editorial article in either of these papers for the last four months, in which it was necessary to express opinions or feelings in regard to the United States, and you will at once catch my present drift. But to aid such as have neither time nor opportunity for such a review, excuse the following sample from a late number of the last named paper:—“In short, this is just the wretched ‘colonization scheme,’ to which those pious slave-owners, the Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians of the United States, have betaken themselves, as a plaster to their consciences, rank and rotten with hypocrisy, and though that holy American humbug may command a congenial support from the caating zealots of liberty and lashes, hallooings and horse-whippings, Bibles and brutality, missions and murders, religious revivals merging in slave auctions, and love-feasts terminating in Lye-chew,” &c. &c. It

is but justice to say, that I have seen equal grossness only in the *John Bull*, and in Mr. Thompson's speeches, to some of which latter this has a most suspicious resemblance. It is my duty also to declare, which I do with sincere pleasure, that the present Foreign Secretary of the King, (Lord Palmerston) and the journals which speak the sentiments of the government, are by far better informed, and more candid in regard to American affairs in general, than any others whose published views have come to my knowledge.

I may, in the end, be permitted to suggest, that perhaps too much has been said in relation to the existing and prospective intercourse between the Churches of the two countries; and possibly too much consequence attached to it by myself, as well as others. I have uttered the sentiments of those who sent me, in their name; and endeavored to enforce them by such considerations as appeared to me just and appropriate. But I am not aware of any thing having transpired which would justify the supposition that America, or her Churches, looked for any advantage which was not likely to be reciprocal, in being permitted to hold this intercourse. Still less can I conceive that any one could be justified in demanding of our Churches, as conditions of it, not only adhesion to moral principles which we reject, but the procurement of political changes which are impossible. Yet, if I comprehend the drift of all British abolitionism, it stops not a whit short of this.

It was the world, more than America, we sought to benefit. We had no purpose of attempting a revolution in Britain; nor did it enter into our conceptions that a revolution in America, of the most terrible extent, would be dictated to us, in terms hardly supportable. It was the benighted heathen for whose good we were laying plans; and the thought of personal advantage, or honor, or enjoyment, to any portion of ourselves, had never place for a moment, nor even ground for exercise; and therefore we must needs be proof against all discriminating threats. It is quite gratuitous for the sects in England to decline receiving our delegates, except they be abolitionists—which many individuals and some public meetings have recommended—which the Baptists, if I am rightly informed, have virtually done—and which seems nothing beyond the compass of your argument.

Indeed, this aspect of the case is so very far from the one which the facts exhibit, that I am greatly surprised that wisdom, if not kindness, did not prevent its presentation. For I believe no delegate who has gone from Britain to America has been assailed, in public and in private, on any of the great evils at which I have hinted in this communication, as every delegate who has come from America to Britain has been assailed on the subject of slavery. I believe, too, you would search in vain in America, for any man who had received from any sect or institution in Britain, any token of respect or esteem; while it will be equally hard to find in Britain any man among any sect to which any delegate from America has ever come, who is not indebted to us for all the consequence he has derived from literary and theological distinctions denied to him at home, but bestowed by the kinder or more discerning spirit of strangers!

For my own part, without intending to commit the folly of depreciating a great nation, I am obliged to say, that the thing which surprised me most in England was the universal ignorance which prevails in regard to America; while the thing which grieved me most was the almost equally universal prejudice against us.

You do not know us. You have little sympathy with us. You do us wrong in all your thoughts. In regard to all these points I believe there is but one mind among all Americans, not being abolitionists, who have been in England. And if you have been pleased to express the hope that I would return to America materially changed in many of my views and principles, I have only to say in reply, that so profound is my sense of the false estimate you put on every thing *national*, as between us and you, that my visit to England has opened a new source of devotion, in gratitude to God that he permitted your ancestors to persecute ours out of it. So little impression of the kind you expect has all that I have been forced to hear in England against my country and my brethren produced, that when I return to embrace again those beloved men, I shall revere them more, as I measure them by all I have known elsewhere; and when my weary feet touch that sacred land, I shall rejoice in the very "dust and stones thereof," as more precious than the pearls of all lands beside.

If I may not call myself your fellow Christian without offence, I can at least sign myself your fellow sinner,

R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

Paris, Aug. 20, 1836.



## PROFESSOR GRISCOM'S LETTER.

The following interesting letter from the pen of Professor GRISCOM must gratify the friends of African Colonization. Its respected author is distinguished both for science and philanthropy. Although he declines to devote his efforts in an Agency to the cause, the weight of his influence and opinions in its favour is of great value.

NEW YORK, 6 MO. 30, 1836.

DEAR FRIEND: Having availed myself, in my visit at Washington last month, of the various interesting opportunities which were furnished me, in becoming acquainted with the most important facts relative to Colonization, I resolved to suspend my conclusion with regard to the acceptance of an Agency in New England, until I had an interview with several of my friends in Providence. Having just returned thus far from that place, I may state, as the result of those interviews, that the way does not at present open for me to enter upon the proposed mission. I need not go into a detail of the motives which lead me to this result. Some of them were stated in the conversations which took place with the officers of the Society at Washington. I may safely say, however, that doubts relative to the expediency or advantages of African Colonization, have nothing to do with the motives which impel me to decline the proffered Agency. On the contrary, I am strong in the persuasion that the establishment and support of Colonies on the coast of Africa, extending, as they must do, if rightly managed, the blessings of civilization and Christianity to the benighted regions of the interior, constitute one of the most truly beneficent enterprises of the present age.

The success thus far attendant upon the efforts that have been made, as witnessed in the general prosperity of the infant Colonies already planted, is such as ought to add strength to the resolution and vigour to the hands of those whose benevolence has so far sustained them in the labour.

It appears also evident to me, that in the present state of the slave question in the United States,—the growth of the African Colonies,—the progress of education, of Christianity, of agriculture, of commerce, of the decencies and refinements of social life among the coloured race in Africa itself,—the exhibition which is even now made of the capabilities of that people in showing forth to the world all the elements of those talents and dispositions which adorn humanity—the perfect freedom which the emancipated slave and his descendants will there enjoy, unshackled by the tyranny of prejudice—and the new world of intellect and character which must there open to him—cannot but react, in the most powerful manner, upon the feelings of Americans, and render the existence of slavery amongst us a continually increasing burthen upon the minds and consciences of our citizens. Let Africa be restored to the companionship of civilized nations, and African slavery, it seems to me, must die a natural death. Were I twenty years younger, and endowed with thrice the eloquence I ever was possessed of, it strikes me that I should willingly embark in the promotion of this deeply interesting cause.

I am with great respect, thy friend,

J. GRISCOM.

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LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

By the arrival of the brig *Luna* at New York, despatches have been received from the Colony up to about the first of October. We learn that the late Colonial Agent, Dr. SKINNER, who has devoted himself with great disinterestedness and zeal to the interests of the Colony, even while suffering under severe and repeated indisposition has returned in the *Luna*. The state of things in the Colony remains quiet and harmonious and improving. There is apprehension of difficulty with some of the natives, but no serious alarm. Interesting letters have been received from the Secretary of the Colony, the Rev.

HILARY TEAGUE, who returned to Liberia (after a visit to the United States) in the Luna, and who conducts the Liberia Herald as well as his correspondence in a manner honourable to his education and talents.

### CONTRIBUTIONS

*To the American Colonization Society, from Sept. 23 to Oct. 25, 1836.*

*Gerrit Smith's first plan of Subscription.*

Jasper Corning, Philadelphia, 8th instalment,	\$100
<i>Collections in Churches, &amp;c.</i>	
Accomack county, Va., on account of collections by Rev. W. Matchet,	50
Dauphin county, Pa., Derry congregation, Rev. James R. Sharon,	13 20
Hungras Parish, Eastern Shore, Va., Rev. W. G. Jackson,	32
Liberty, Kentucky, Rev. B. Temple,	3 61
Logan county, do., Kennerly's chapel, Rev. J. Collard,	6 93
Middletown, Coa., Rev. J. R. Crane's Church,	45 35
North Yarmouth, Maine, Rev. David Shepley,	13
Pleasant Grove, Kentucky, Rev. R. W. January,	2 75
Russelville, do Union Church, Rev. C. Weedon,	7 50
Methodist do., Rev. R. During,	6 87

*Donations.*

Clark's Run, near Xenia, Ohio, James Miller,	4
Monson, Massachusetts, A. W. Porter,	75

*Auxiliary Societies.*

Middletown, Con., Female Society, Emily Tracy, Tr'r. & Secretary,	24 65
Virginia Auxiliary Society, B. Brand, Tr'r.	173
Xenia, Ohio, Female do., Sarah Gallaway, Tr'r.	78

*To send out Emigrants.*

Leesburg, Ten., John Stephenson, to defray the expense of four coloured persons to Liberia,	246
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**\$881 86**

*African Repository.*

Capt. Wm. Raines, Deer Isle, Maine,	8
R. Bibb, jr., Treasurer of Russelville, Kentucky, Auxiliary Society,	26
James Miller, Xenia, Ohio,	2
E. Easton, Agent, Cincinnati, Ohio,	150
Wm. Seaver, Batavia, N. York,	5
Governor Edward Coles, Philadelphia, Pa.	4
Mrs. Custis, Arlington,	4
Miss Landonia Randolph, Powhatan county, Va., per Mrs. Custis,	4
Rev. W. Matchet, Agent,	5

*Life Members, obtained in Virginia during the past year by the Rev. C. W. Andrews.*

Right Rev. Richard C. Moore, Richmond.
Rev. William S. Plumer, do.
Henry Moncure, do.
James Gray, do.
William H. Macfarland, do.
Rev. S. B. S. Bissell, do.
Rev. James Wood, do.
Col. J. W. Pegram, Petersburg.
Mrs. Jane Minge, do.
Rev. John S. Royall, Winchester.
Benjamin Pollard, Norfolk.
Lewis Berkeley, Loudoun county.
Thomas A. Tidball, Winchester.
Jeremiah Morton, Orange county.
Thomas Griggs, Senr. Jefferson county.
Rev. Charles B. Dana, Alexandria, D. C.

















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